

Social Questions

BULLETIN

of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, a membership organization which seeks to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic base for society and seeks to replace it with social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges.

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The Dust Bowl Helps Feed Europe

DR. GORDON H. WARD *

The bumper wheat crop grown in the United States during 1947 is one of the main sources of foods to help fight starvation in Europe this winter (and until the 1948 crops can be harvested). A large part of our current exportable surplus of wheat came from the Dust Bowl. The 1947 summer-fall drouth in the western Great Plains has raised the question whether the Dust Bowl will have a wheat crop to harvest early next summer. Rains in November over the Great Plains are reported to have germinated much of the fall seeded wheat. If rainfall is near normal during the winter and spring, there will be a crop to harvest, though probably not the bumper yield there was in 1947.

According to the United States Department of Agriculture, "Only about three-fourths of the intended winter wheat acreage had been seeded by November 1 in the six states of Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, Colorado, and New Mexico, where normally seeding would have been completed. In the four most seriously affected states—Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico—(Dust Bowl states) nearly half of the winter wheat acreage is usually harvested. Some seed has been sown in the dust, hoping for rain. More seeding is still possible if rain comes in November and December.—October rainfall was short in large portions of the country, excessive in others. It ranged from one-fourth to half normal in the Southern Great Plains."

Reports from Agricultural Extension Service personnel in the Dust Bowl states of Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, embracing the Southern Great Plains, indicate that rains and snow have supplied sufficient moisture to germinate the wheat already in the ground and permit seeding the balance of the intended acreage. The big question is whether there will be sufficient precipitation between now and harvest to carry the crop thru to a normal yield. Some observers report that in years past a normal harvest has occurred following an unfavorable start such as has been the case this year.

During the six years 1935-1940, when the Dust Bowl was at its worst, the area in which serious blowing hazards existed averaged approximately 50,000,000 acres. The acreage within this area that was subject to blowing averaged about 5,000,000 acres per year. These areas of light sandy soil and thin soils that would not carry grass thru a long dry spell are scattered through the plains where the deeper and more fertile soils will carry a protective cover of vegetation through most dry spells if handled properly.

In 1935-36 the Dust Bowl was an irregular elipse about

500 miles long from north to south and centered approximately where the five states, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas come together. It was about 150 miles wide in New Mexico, Texas and Oklahoma, and about 225 miles wide in Colorado and Kansas. It extended westward about 50 miles from the eastern boundary of New Mexico and about 125 miles west from Colorado's boundary with Kansas. During the following years it retreated northward and eastward until in 1940 it had left New Mexico and had reached close to the center of Kansas. During the six years 1941-46 rainfall over this area was above normal and the acreage of land exposed to blowing was greatly reduced.

The development of the Dust Bowl traces back to World War I and the wheat shortage that developed at its close. Roughly 20,000,000 acres were added to the wheat harvest between 1917 and 1919. Much of this increase was in the Dust Bowl area where gamblers plowed up virgin sod which old timers in the region had considered too hazardous for trying to grow wheat on account of the scant rainfall. With the advent of gasoline tractor farming in the early 1920s, newcomers plowed up more virgin sod over large areas of dry land cattle ranges. Tractors freed large acreages for wheat production that previously had been required for hay, oats, and pasture for the many horses previously used for farm operations. When Europe adopted the program of expanding domestic wheat production, a world surplus of wheat developed and the price broke. Many large scale operators in the Great Plains of our west had made commitments to pay for their new tractor machinery outfits and when the price of wheat went down, they tried to make their payments from the sale of more wheat. The price dropped to 35c per bushel, and in some places to 25c in the 1930s while the estimated cost of production using the most efficient labor saving machinery was about 50c per bushel delivered to the elevators along the railroads.

When the more wheat a man produced the greater was his loss, a large number of the speculative new-comers in the dry land areas of the Southern Great Plains abandoned their land. Many old-timers decided in the early 1930s that it was time to "let the land take a rest," and "let it go back to grass". But when no rain came, the grass could not grow to spread a protective carpet over the parched earth. When the strong winds came out of the southwest in late winter and early spring, they blew much of the precious top soil off millions of acres in the Dust Bowl.

History Repeats War Aftermath

After World War II history appears to be repeating itself. The record breaking prices of wheat is sending the sod busting giant tractors westward into the more arid areas

* Agricultural Economist for the Virginia Agricultural Extension Service, attended the American Institute of Cooperation in Colorado last August and drove thru the dust bowl returning home. The editor asked him to write this article on the possibility of new dust storms.

of the Great Plains, especially in eastern New Mexico and Colorado. They are moving into country where the long time average annual rainfall is 10-12 inches. Stable dry land farming requires 17-25 inches of rainfall per year. It takes 18-20 inches of moisture to make a wheat crop. In 1946, H. H. Finnell, of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, wrote that the greatest amount of soil blowing had occurred in the 14-17 inch annual rainfall belt in the western Great Plains. The "get-rich-quick" frenzy is again leading to over stepping the natural bound of the wheat production area.

With wheat bringing the producer about \$2.75 per bushel, there is strong inducement to gamble on the rainfall. If the season is favorable, a yield of 20 bushels per acre will pay for the land in one season. Big operators can get custom operators of tractor equipment to plow their land, seed the wheat, and then combine-harvest it for about \$8.50 to \$10 per acre. Land that used to be considered adaptable only for grazing and went begging for lack of buyers at \$5 per acre before the war is now being bought by the section at \$35 to \$50 per acre by absentee wheat operators. If they can harvest two good crops, their large acreages yield a fortune.

Great tractors plow strips 40 to 60 feet wide as they crawl across the relatively flat land. With such an outfit one man can cover about 100 acres per day and in a week can plow up a whole mile square section of 640 acres. It is interesting to note that back in the homesteading days, the government permitted a farmer to take up only a quarter section of 160 acres to support his family.

Most of the new speculative wheat operators own not a piece of production equipment. Some use an airplane to carry on the supervision of their operations in several states. They have no consideration for the land. They are concerned only with making as large a profit as possible before the inevitable dry years come around again. When the land will no longer yield a profit, they will simply abandon it and shift their attention elsewhere.

Reports from county agricultural agents over the Southern Great Plains provide the basis for estimating that last fall about 7,500,000 acres of land in the old Dust Bowl were ready to blow when the winds freshen from the southwest. During the worst period of the dust storms the areas subject to blowing averaged only about 5,000,000 acres. Responsibility for any dust storms that may occur during January thru March of 1948 rest primarily on the big speculative wheat operators who give no attention to soil conservation practices. Land seeded in wheat is especially subject to blowing if the wheat has not had sufficient moisture to spread a green carpet over the land and get its roots fastened in the soil before the winds reach their winter and early spring velocity of 40 to 50 miles per hour.

An article in Collier's for December 27, 1947 reported that H. H. Finnell of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service puts the acreage plowed up in the five states of Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas since 1942 at 3,170,000. Much of the land recently plowed up, he points out, is thin, hard soil which is unsuited to wheat production and will probably be abandoned when the boom collapses. According to the July, 1947 report of the Committee on Conditions of the Great Plains Agricultural Council, "More grass land and other stabilized land were broken for cultivation during the past year than were broken during any like period within the last eleven years. The records show that 1,335,956 acres were broken from July 1946 to July 1947.—Colorado, Kansas, Montana, and North Dakota account for most of the land that was broken during the year." Nearly a fourth of this total was plowed up in two counties in Colorado, a dust bowl state.

Paradoxically, Colorado reports that from July 1946 through June 1947 farmers re-seeded to grass under the soil conservation program more acres than the other dust bowl states. It has a state soil conservation law which permits farmers within soil conservation districts to vote into effect regulations controlling the use of land within the district. These regulations have restrained the breaking of sod in

hazardous areas where the soil is thin and hard or sandy and where rainfall is so low that a crop can be made only in wet years. "Suit case" big wheat operators brought pressure on the Colorado legislature to permit absentee land owners to vote on these land-use regulations. They outvoted the resident family farmers and changed the regulations so that they could plow up high risk areas to gamble on making a fortune in wheat. When the rainfall cycle brings back a normal precipitation, it will break up the wheat boom in the low rainfall areas. The poor land abandoned by the speculators will be subject to blowing that can cause very serious damage to nearby soil-conserving family farmers.

Will 1948 Be a Dry Year?

The rainfall for several years prior to 1947 was about double the normal amount in some areas and much above the average over a large part of the Great Plains. Old timers claim a seven year cycle of wet and dry years. Soil conservation specialists assert only that there are series of wet years followed by series of dry years. Drought inevitably follows a series of wet years. Many people expect a turn to a dry period in 1948.

According to the November, 1947, Report of the Committee on Condition, precipitation over the Great Plains was above normal during the first half of 1947. After June rainfall dropped below normal in 349 out of 426 counties on the plains. The greatest deficiencies were in the winter wheat area of the southern half of the Great Plains (Dust Bowl area). "Surface moisture was not adequate as of November 1 for the establishment of fall seeded crops in 237 of the 426 counties. The condition was most critical in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. In some of these counties sufficient moisture has been received since November 1 to insure the germination of wheat. However, experimental evidence shows that it is unusual for wheat that germinates after November 1 to produce an average crop the following season.—County agents have indicated that sub-soil moisture conditions are definitely unsatisfactory on practically all crop land and that they are fair to good on practically all fallow and. It was pointed out in some reports that recent rains had supplied surface moisture but that a dry layer exists between this surface zone and the sub-soil." With deficient sub-surface moisture conditions, the size of the wheat yield next summer will depend largely upon snow and rainfall while the crop is growing.

The reports from the county agents "indicate a much more critical condition from the standpoint of the susceptibility of soil to erode by wind this year than has been the case for several years.—The failure to obtain stands of wheat is the chief contributing factor to the condition. The wheat which emerged since November 1 will not supply very much protection against the action of wind. Therefore, blowing may occur on some of these fields. The most critical fields are those which were summer-fallowed and have not become protected by wheat, and those from which the stubble was removed by burning." It is estimated that 7,500,000 acres in the Dust Bowl areas are in condition to blow this winter and early spring, as compared with an average of about 5,000,000 acres during the years of the dust storms. Farm management specialists in the dust bowl states believe there is not as much danger of dust storms in 1948 as in the 1930s because of improved soil conservation and management practices.

Dust Storms Can Be Prevented

Wessel Smither in Collier's for December 27, 1947 points out that there are three factors that produce dust storms, namely, wind, drought, and loose soil. Only the last factor is controllable by man. Over the Great Plains the average annual wind velocity is 10 to 15 miles per hour. In late winter and spring the winds reach a velocity of 40-50 miles per hour for two to three days at a time. If the soil is dry from lack of snow or rain and the surface of the ground is loose, the wind will swirl up a dust storm in a day or so.

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The Liberal Faces his Critics

EDGAR N. JACKSON *

It has become a pleasant pastime to poke fun at the liberal as mentally weak and inept. Not only is he slow to jump on the bandwagon of Neo-Augustinianism, Neo-Thomism, Neo-Calvinism and Neo-Protestantism, but he is also enough of a fool to think that an objective standard of judgment concerning Russia can still be tolerated.

While he has a deep admiration for the brilliant intellects of the proponents of the Neo-isms, the liberal is perplexed by the historical short-sightedness of his critics. Only recently I read words which imply that the liberal movement is split over the Issue of Moscow. Half of the movement waits to hear what Moscow has to say so that it can decide what it is for, and the other half waits at the same source of wisdom to find out what it can be against. That would be an interesting state of affairs if true, but how true is it? Has the liberal temper been a product of Moscow? Is it dependent upon it?

The modern liberal movement has deep roots in England and America. John Wesley's attack on the Calvinistic acceptance of the status quo was followed by more direct attacks against social injustice and irresponsibility by such men as Robertson, Ruskin, Kingsley and Maurice. In America the Transcendentalists carried forward the social concern of Roger Williams. Men like Washington Gladden, Francis Peabody and Josiah Strong carried the ideas forward until they became more definitely fixed as a movement.

Around the turn of the century the studies of such men as Richard T. Ely and Francis Peabody were being recast in the form of a social ethic which is still the foundation of the liberal's thinking today. Problems have become more acute; the pressures of time more desperate; the faith and foundation of the ethical judgments that deal with them remain the same.

The insights and judgments of evangelical passion of men like Frank Mason North, Walter Rauschenbusch, Harry Ward and Bishop McConnell moulded the thinking of a large segment of the Christian Church. The liberal movement has grown from the inspiration of the clear thinking and courageous action of men like these. These were not men to trim their message to suit the popular pressures of the day. These were not men to recast their ethical judgments to suit a secular world.

If there appears to be a split in the ranks of the liberals it is not because Moscow determines values. The liberals were in business long before Moscow had social significance. They will probably be raising ethical standards of judgment when Moscow represents just another historical era. The liberal's judgment of the theories of Moscow can be as severe as those coming from any other quarter, but they will not be the product of mass hysteria or fear of unpopularity. Liberals have never been popular for long. Many there were who called themselves liberals, and for brief periods flirted with the liberal mood. In the pinch, however, the sustaining power was not there. For true liberalism grows not from social philosophy but from ethical religion. There it rests its judgment, and there it gains its strength.

The liberal's faith limits his support. He believes that justice is an essential ingredient of love. Whenever the passions of mass emotion distort any group or cause, his sense of justice compels him to maintain the balance that can do justice to the misrepresented. It is easier to handle and accept popular judgments that are unjust than to take the unpopular stand that seeks justice for the underdog.

While millions of men are being inflamed into the mood for open conflict against the Soviet Union, it is easy to move along the same way, feel the same suspicions, enlarge the same rumors and cultivate the same rationalizations. To

stand on the right of critical judgment and objective bases of opinion makes one at such time a "fellow traveler" and a suspect person. So has it always been. Scripture will bear that out.

The liberal now would pass the same judgments on Soviet theory that he has always passed. It is inadequate in at least five different ways from the point of view of Christian judgment. Its materialistic philosophy has never been enough to explain the spiritual nature of man, and since the first atom bomb exploded in New Mexico revealing the basically non-materialistic structure of the universe, it is wholly inadequate. Beyond that, a psychology that has no place for the soul of man as a son of God can never give an adequate basis for the Christian concept of personality. A theory that interprets history in purely economic terms does not make room for the other forces definitely at work in the making of history. An epistemology that recognizes no knowledge except that which grows out of the materialistic processes of history would make no room for the knowledge through revelation so evident in the life of Jesus. Any social philosophy which has no place for the Creature-Creator relationship as a religious impulse for life, has no basis for a sustaining personal or social ethical experience. Most of the liberals I know would agree with the critical judgments in these five points.

But when we make those judgments of a way of life that claims to be materialistic, we cannot help but make similar judgments of a way of life that does not claim to be materialistic but acts as if it were. How spiritual can we claim to be when all of the church giving for the relief of overseas hunger and suffering amounts to just one percent of our national expense for alcoholic beverages? A hungry person could be excused for not being impressed with our claims to spirituality. How spiritual are we when we will urge upon the world another blood bath to protect the far flung economic interests of a relatively small number of persons? How just are we when we condemn Russian practice in a country that attacked her, while we justify our similar actions in Japan? How reasonable are we when we condemn Russia for using the veto machinery we demanded, while we ignore and discredit the United Nations by repeated unilateral acts, now entirely outside the framework of international law? How can we pretend to be offended by unkind words when we have a string of active airbases around the world, and the planes to carry the world's most destructive weapon wherever we want it to go? The liberal's sense of justice will not permit two standards of what is right and what is wrong, one for others and one for ourselves.

The liberal's basic contention is that any sense of national or international order must be based on an ethical standard that is large enough to sustain it. In the teaching of Jesus we believe we find the basis for such a concept of justice and world order. Other's may not have it, but that does not excuse us from practicing the moral judgment we have. Only as we practice such judgments can we help establish the basis of judgment and the pattern of behavior that we hope will become universal. Only as we do our part can we expect God in his wise judgment to use us for his larger purposes. To desert our moral judgments as proponents of ethical religion at such a time of crisis, weakens the last spiritual resource we have against the catastrophe that can well spell the destruction of our civilization.

The liberal's attitude is far more than an effort to justify any theory or program. It is an effort to practice a standard of moral judgment larger than national patriotism or self interest. Most liberals humbly admit that the assignment is too large for them to achieve perfection. Nevertheless, they feel that they can be satisfied with no smaller ideal.

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* Rev. Edgar N. Jackson is pastor of Newfield Methodist Church, Bridgeport, Conn.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 21, 1948.

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M'MICHAEL TIE IN ERROR

Methodist Social Action Head
Was Not Communist Chairman

THE NEW YORK TIMES published on Dec. 28, 1947, a dispatch from The United Press from Kansas City, Mo., which referred to the Rev. Jack R. McMichael, executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action as "former chairman of the Young Communist League and now executive secretary of the federation."

This was an error. The Rev. Jack R. McMichael has never been chairman of the Young Communist League nor is he connected with any other Communist organization. The Methodist Federation for Social Action states that it is Christian in its motivation and wholly devoted to the promotion of human welfare along lines inspired by Christianity and implicit in the historic positions of Methodism.

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one hundred years of the new york east conference

It was just one hundred years ago this spring that the New York East Conference was separated from the old New York Conference and entered upon a life of its own. The Methodist Federation For Social Action congratulates the New York East Conference on the completion of its first hundred years. No single conference in Methodism has contributed more, intellectually, financially, and otherwise to the Federation than the New York East.

From the very beginning the New York East Conference was concerned with social action. It came into being at the height of the slavery controversy, only four years after the General Conference had demanded of Bishop Andrews that he manumit his slaves or cease exercising the episcopal function, and, in his refusal to do so, had split American Methodism in two. Nathan Bangs, who led the forces opposed to Bishop Andrews, was one of the leading figures in the new conference. He was a delegate to every general conference but one between 1808 and 1856. He was Publishing Agent of the Book Concern. He was Editor of the Christian Advocate. He was the founder of the Conference Course of Study system. He was the first Missionary Secretary of the Church, and first editor of the Quarterly Review. He was briefly a President of Wesleyan University, and for a long time Presiding Elder of the East New York District of the New York East Conference.

By a strange coincidence, most of the abolitionist hot-heads in the New York Conference found themselves in the New York East Conference after 1848. In 1836 the New York Conference had sought to curb the abolitionists in its ranks by resolving "that no one ought to be elected to the office of deacon or elder unless he would give a pledge that he would refrain from agitating the church with discussions of slavery". In 1838, James Floy was tried for aiding in the publication of an anti-slavery tract. He later became a distinguished Presiding Elder in the New York East Conference. The New York Conference also forbade its members to act as agents for *Zion's Watchman*. Whereupon Seymour Landon demanded: "Is the resolution intended to forbid my taking the paper myself and paying for it?" When the appointments were read, Brother Landon found himself moved from Newburgh to "Sugar Loaf Mountain", where, like John the Baptist, he might riot on locusts and wild honey and meditate on the folly of having opinions of his own. Landon, oddly enough, also became a Presiding Elder in the New York East Conference.

One of the first activities of the new conference was to set up an Abolitionist Society, and this was followed, in 1857, by an official Conference Committee on Slavery.

The New York East Conference was in session at the time of the attack on Fort Sumter, and was the first ecclesiastical body in the country to pledge its unfaltering support to the government of President Lincoln. The Conference of 1862 was interrupted during the reading of the report of the Committee on the State of the Country to hear the Rev. William Morris announce "glorious tidings of victory in the West". This news was received with "irrepressible enthusiasm", which culminated in a call for the doxology. At the conclusion of the war, the government invited the New York East Conference to send three representatives to Fort Sumter to take part in the ceremony of raising the identical flag which had been hauled down at the beginning of the war.

But this staunchly unionist conference was the first to extend the right hand of fellowship to the stricken South. In 1864 the Southern Methodists were called "bone of our bone, blood of our blood" in a resolution urging the immediate healing of the wounds of war, and in 1866 the Conference telegraphed to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, meeting at New Orleans, an invitation to make Sunday, April 8, 1866, a day of prayer for unity.

At least one of the main roots of the Federation goes back deep into the New York East Conference. In 1892 the Conference appointed a special committee of five, with Dr. Frank Mason North as chairman, to draw up a "social service report" which could be forwarded as a memorial to the General Conference. The other members of the committee were Dr. Branford P. Raymond, Prof. William North Rice of Wesleyan, Dr. Joseph Pullman, and Dr. John Rhey Thompson. The report was adopted and the memorial forwarded. Again in 1896 the New York East Conference asked this committee, with the addition of Dr. S. Beiler, Dr. Herbert Welch, and the Rev. B. F. Kidder, to draw up a memorial. The committee formulated a rather lengthy document covering the following topics: the discontent of the poor, the right of property, socialistic tendencies, labor organization, combinations of capital, the ethics of business, the duties of property, the wage system, plutocracy in the church, the pew system, the submerged classes, Christian citizenship, and the duties of church and ministry on social issues. When the Federation was finally organized, late in 1907, one of the members of this New York East Conference Committee, Dr. Herbert Welch, was chosen as first president.

During the years the New York East Conference has given distinguished leadership to the whole church in the field of social action. At every General Conference the representatives and the memorials from New York East have given primary consideration to social issues.

Probably no conference in Methodism can match the record of New York East for intellectual and prophetic leadership. The roll of the conference down the years is the roll of the great minds and voices of the church: Nathan Bangs, Laban Clark, Stephen Olin, Frank Mason North, William North Rice, Daniel Curry, John Price Durbin, William Valentine Kelley, Abel Stevens, David G. Downey, Borden Parker Bowne, Daniel D. Whedon, George E. Reed, Daniel A. Goodsell, J. M. Buckley, John Langdale, Francis J. McConnell—the list is long.

To the century-old New York East Conference the Methodist Federation For Social Action extends heartiest congratulations and hopes for a second hundred years of prophetic service and high leadership as valuable to church and kingdom as the first.

Social Questions

BULLETIN

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REV. ALSON J. SMITH, *Editor*

The METHODIST FEDERATION for SOCIAL ACTION (Unofficial)

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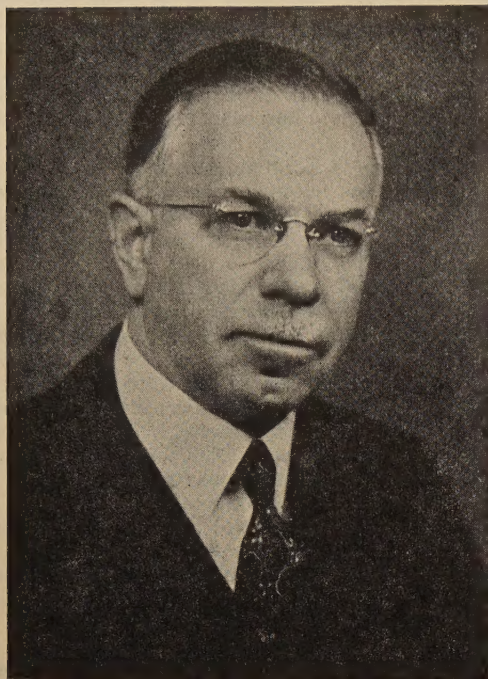
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The Quarterly Conference and Social Action

JAMES A. PERRY *



Russell Conwell in "Acres of Diamonds" tells the story of a farmer who wanted to go into the oil business. By much reading he acquainted himself with the business, wrote to his uncle who was an oil magnate, and secured a job. But the man, who bought his farm, found on it one of the richest oil deposits in the United States. He was overlooking his wealth. In like manner Methodists are overlooking a wealth of resource in their vast system of church polity. The Quarterly Conference is a power unit. Here is reviewed the year's work to date, and the prospects and proposals for the balance of the year, "and any other business." By all means include Social Action in "any other business".

But in many Quarterly Conferences or Local Church Conferences (if it is 4th Quarterly Conference business) there is a discernable degree of dissatisfaction. Men with big farms or big business are uneasy with the lack of big things in the Quarterly Conference. Routine reports are apt to be dull because much of the material is already familiar to them, and mission projects seem afar off. But once it is discovered that here is a power to do something with community affairs, or state-wide issues, a new vital interest is aroused. The District Superintendent, holding 50 to 150 Quarterly Conferences once, twice, or more a year, can bring the conviction of a substantial group of people powerfully to bear on social and political situations. Quarterly Conference resolutions in one state appeared to prevent Roman Catholics from securing state financial aid for a Catholic College. Secretaries of the meetings were instructed to confront the legislators with our opposition to state money for sectarian institutions. Christian men and women have longed for an agency through which they might speak. Here is one ready made, and composed of high-minded, trustworthy citizens.

Dr. Charles R. Brown, a Congregationalist, one of the most renowned Christian leaders in America, said of the Methodist Church "It has the best system of government and polity in the world, not excluding the Roman Catholic, but

one of the poorest worked." This is cause for encouragement and re-thinking. Methodism is a unique combination of authority. It could quickly double its influence, its membership, and its spiritual power, if it took itself seriously. Our ministers would do well to give serious study to the genius of this historic movement called Methodism.

METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL ACTION

This organization, for some years an official organ of our church, still is directed by Methodists and recognized as Methodist, but now holds an unofficial status. Perhaps this unofficial relation is an advantage, for it leaves editors, secretaries, and promoters freer for advanced positions in a day mixed and confused judgments. Through its history of more than forty years it has dealt largely with issues of labor and capital, workers and managers. Labor unions and their struggle for a fair deal for laborers have loomed very large in their endeavors. Most of their positions have been justified by time, mature reflection, and actual experience in the realm of industry. Collective bargaining, a voice in management, better working conditions, a living wage, and the most equitable division of the products of industry, now are considered good business. Christian principles to-day require a review of the Social Creed to include old-age security, year around employment, and a share in the profits. All these considerations can be a part of the Quarterly Conference reports, for there is in the Discipline optional provision for a Social Service Committee having equal standing with other committees.

CONVICTIONS AND CONTACTS

Not all Quarterly Conferences will tolerate advanced positions on social matters, but the majority eagerly will do so, once they understand the implications. Methodist Churches, made up largely of the middleclass of people, are generally conservative, and very loyal Americans. Yet a study of labor union history together with present-day activities reveals that American labor unions are conservative when compared with those of other nations. Anyway here is a chance to educate ourselves, bring to clear focus our ideas of justice, and see the moral and religious applications of the Golden Rule.

Then by virtue of concerted action, secretaries of Quarterly Conferences may be instructed to present the conclusions of a deliberative body to the law-makers, to leaders of public schools, to managers of public recreation, to local authorities, and to directors of radio programs. Such action does get attention. Moreover, many good people of the rank and file of our churches are waiting for real leadership.

CONCRETE ISSUES

No year passes without glaring social injustices rising on the horizon, and much more do they appear in times like these. Let us look at a few. First, it frequently happens that indecent motion pictures are shown in our theaters without protest. Sometimes motion picture corporations require "booking" of such as a part of their contracts with local managers, and virtually the managers have no choice. A protest from an official body, not only arouses vigilance, but puts iron in to the blood of other churches and of the welfare societies.

Second, the Roman Church is always sparring for position and demanding unAmerican privileges. Quarterly Conferences need to be alert, frank in dealing with these situations, sure of the facts, and then stand squarely for freedom, separation of church and state, and equal matrimonial requirements.

* Dr. James A. Perry is Superintendent of the Burlington District, Troy Conference.

Third, the Quarterly Conferences, aided by the Committee of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Society of Christian Service, should create a demand for adequate teaching of the effects of alcoholic beverages in public schools. No day ever needed it as much as this one. In many states there is a law to that end, but in not a few it needs better enforcement, and new text-books for such teaching.

Fourth, gradual but positive and detrimental infringement on the Sabbath is a creeping paralysis to the moral sensitivity of many people. High Schools schedule basketball practice and even games. Horse show promoters have the affrontery to usurp all day Sunday. Hiking parties often totally disregard the sacred seventh of the week. Sunday's hours are sorely needed to build soul qualities, to cultivate character, to search for true insights into human relations, to create and broadcast international goodwill. The desperate situations confronting Christian people this hour cannot be handled incidentally. They require study, exchange of ideas, harmonizing of opposing theories, mature reflection, yes, and divine guidance. It is not just "offhand" business. Resist secular infringement on the Sabbath.

Fifth, because of the need of more time and talent for these issues, members of Church Annual Meetings must, whensoever they demand the Sabbath for them, have policy, plans and programs of compelling value to put in place of usurpations which they insist on excluding. It will require the wisdom and co-ordination of all organizations which seek the welfare of all, locally and world-wide. Parent-Teachers Associations, Service Clubs, Fraternities, Courts of Justice, together with distinctive church organizations must work together to construct a platform for confidence and co-operation the world over. Nothing less than the utmost endeavor of all of us can do the job. Here is a thrilling undertaking big enough and urgent enough to challenge the ablest and most devout minds in any community. Combined effort will bring to clear focus the foremost necessities of the world, and set forth means for answering the world needs.

Sixth, appeal should be made to church members to use their influence in their clubs and societies, for many outside societies are officered by church-trained men and women.

Seventh, members of the Quarterly Conferences should know the names, addresses, and general background of those who lead all major enterprises and institutions effecting the life of the community both near and far. Deliberated conclusions, clearly stated but not stereotyped, will be effective in the political and economic actions of those assigned public trust. Threats and tirades and self-defeating. Willingness to help leaders do the right and useful thing produces goodwill. Reaching out into pivotal areas such as United Nations is satisfying and enlarging to the participants. The Women's Societies in many places hold classes for study of United Nations, and they make effective use of their knowledge.

Eighth, it is possible to forestall devastating practices by a resolution disapproving them as they have appeared in other communities.

Ninth, commendation of those, who have taken a firm stand for high standards of life, declares your position, and helps form public opinion. A score of approving messages went from Quarterly Conferences in Vermont to a legislator who fought a bill further to legalize use of Sunday by motion picture theaters. He won the fight for us. It would not be amiss to commend Catholic priests who require their candidates for confirmation to sign the total-abstinence pledge effective till age twenty-one. Certain editorial policies in daily papers deserve public commendation. In practically all these and similar parliamentary action by church bodies, the daily press will give full publicity, and such publicity doubles the effectiveness of them.

CONCLUSIONS

First, Quarterly Conferences, engaged in the above, and similar procedure becomes an educational force in our lives.

Second, the agenda of the meetings, sent out to all members well in advance, will enlist interest and better attendance.

Third, remember that the Federation for Social Action, the Federal Council of Churches, and other church agencies can give you reliable information on the major issues.

Fourth, people will respond if the challenge is really there.

Fifth, Methodism is a unique combination of authority and freedom. It employs both these elements in achievement better than most organizations, while retaining the American heritage of liberty and personal initiative.

Sixth, it will take much time and money. SO WILL THE NEXT WAR IF IT COMES. But in addition to being a preventative of CATASTROPHE, its abundant rewards are of immeasurable personal worth and of fathomless institutional advantage and value.

Not in Your Papers?

In January 1848, one hundred years ago the Communist Manifesto, written by Marx and Engels, was given to the world. It Begins: "A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exercise this spectre; Pope and Tsar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police spies. Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as communistic by its opponents in power? Where is the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?"

"Publicly, the supporters of the interim aid and the European Recovery Program are timid about suggesting that economic aid must be supplemented by a more effective political program against the Communists but privately they concede that the Western European governments and the United States must find some way of defeating the Communist tactics in the French and Italian labor unions." James Reston, Washington Correspondent, N. Y. Times.

"A third of the manganese ore and over half of the platinum imported into the U. S. this year came from the Soviet Union." William C. Foster, Under-secretary of Commerce. "There is a growing movement in the country for an embargo on the shipment of raw materials, machinery and machine tools to the Soviet Union." James Reston again.

Rabbi Silver of Cleveland, national president of the Zionist Council says the Marshall Plan aims to "split Europe wide open in a modus vivendi (way of conquest) with Russia." He says it is not Communism that is the issue but "the main danger and major issue before all of the people everywhere is still fascism."

James A. Dombrowski of the Southern Conference Educational Fund says "Recently we attended 3 mass meetings attended by about 20,000 students and faculty on the campus of the University of Texas, Tulane University, Louisiana State University. When the speaker attacked discrimination and segregation there was a spontaneous outburst of applause."

Albert Z. Carr, American member of the Inter-Allied Reparations Agency, says: "Certain British and American groups have been waging an intensive campaign against reparations, asserting that the program is destructive and costly." He shows that many plants, built for Hitler's war production, will remain idle if left in Germany, and adds: "The removal of idle machines does not materially hinder Germany's revival or add to the burdens of the American taxpayer. . . . European industrial experts believe that the factories now earmarked for delivery will provide machinery not obtainable elsewhere and that will speed the recovery of Western Europe by from two to five years. Conversely if industrial reparations are held up, revival will lag everywhere except in Germany itself."

Rural Social Action

ROGER ORTMAYER

Soil and Survival

It is with a sickening sense of frustration that we watch the countless tons of good earth wash off the face of a planet that even now is down to less than two acres of arable land per person. It does not help encourage us as we consider that every turn of the earth on its axis brings into being fifty thousand more hungry mouths.

It is possible for humanity to starve itself into a marginal subsistence. As yet, with good distribution and proper husbandry that can be averted, at least in the immediate future. The sapping demands of war, the use of soils without regard for social obligation, the increasing commercialization of agriculture so that the husbandman becomes another competitive producer on the cash market, these aspects of an economy motivated by profits and greedy interests can, however, if continued, make of the future not a dream but a doom.

A few years ago the usually roseate *Readers Digest* reprinted an article in which the author played with the shocking statement that famines were a boon for India—they made fewer mouths to feed. India dramatizes the pressures of increasing peoples against land resources at the very moment that we are becoming conscious of our alarming soil wastage. In this problem, what is the relationship of rural life and that of human breeding and survival?

The erosion of genes

Not the least disturbing facet of the problem is one of genetics. We may succeed in keeping *homo sapiens* on this earth in great numbers. But although mankind stays around, the *kind* of man that survives is important too. Morons, even though they may dwell in paradise, are nonetheless morons.

Robert Cook, editor of the *Journal of Heredity*, pointed out the significance of gene erosion as a disturbing parallel to soil erosion at last summer's Conference on Conservation, Nutrition, and Health at Ohio University. He quoted from a 1938 National Resources Board report: "The possibility of the wastage of genes favorable to human development through social conditions causing adverse selection suggests a more serious national problem than any amount of soil erosion. Sociological considerations would suggest that a policy calculated to conserve the desirable biological heritage of the race generally would not conflict with measures to foster social progress in other directions."

Authoritative studies in both Great Britain and the United States point to a deteriorating national intelligence rating, the declining rate lying somewhere between 1.4 and 4.8 I. Q. points per generation. This, again in the words of Mr. Cook, means that "we are squandering our rather thin intellectual topsoil each generation."

Three factors are at work on the fate of genes in the human population. Gene arrangements are altered for the most part by mutation, migration, and selection. Mutation used to be a very long process—Hiroshima may have changed that because of the nightmare developments that result from exposure to such radiation. Migration and selection are closely bound together and are the main concern of this sketch.

Gene topsoil disappearing

Those that migrate to the great cities in America represent the vigorous topsoil. But the reproductive practices of urban denizens, particularly those of higher educational advantages, render sterile these rich human resources. They refuse to bear children. At present rates, 1,000 college graduate have 125 descendants in 100 years. A century's

time will produce only 350 descendants per 1,000 high school grads, while those unable to finish grammar school will produce 5,000 in the same period.

For the most part this is an urban situation. With the exception of Salt Lake City and possibly Flint, Michigan, no major city produces more than 1½ children per couple and it takes at least 2.2 at present mortality rates to keep the population level. So the city goes to the country for recruits, but it takes the topsoil and then fails to reproduce it. The precious genes are victims of erosion. The left-overs tend to be bedraggled backwash.

In rural areas, the highest fertility ratios exist on washed out lands. The hilly countryside that has been eroded and depleted continues to produce more people than it can support and the "genetic sinkholes" of the city sterilize the vigorous element that migrates. As of 1940, about 29% of the white women in the 40-44 age bracket in New York and Chicago never had a child (if they were to have children, they would have by then), and about 36% of those in Los Angeles. Since these women were born in 1896-1900 and would have been having most of their children in the nineteen twenties, the next census will probably show an increase over even these startling percentages, the depression years of the nineteen thirties having had lower fertility ratios than the previous decade.

Is gene conservation possible?

Can, in the words of the *Bulletin's* statement of policy, "social-economic planning to develop a society without class or group discriminations and privileges" do something about the conservation of desirable genes?

Unless we do some kind of planning, the present process of "death selection" and migration will produce a washed out people. But it cannot be planning of the stupid, unimaginative, and centralized kind of pressure beloved of the Nazis. Social planning can and should be decentralized, especially in a matter of this kind. Any discriminating Christian ethic revolts at the notion of trying to make studs of the biologically desirable, placed by the authorities at the service of prospective mothers. Nor can you force certain individuals to mate with carefully screened opposites. With our traditions that could not happen. Neither is it possible to coerce more children from reluctant parents; nor could bonuses and similar types of governmental expediency do much.

Human ecology can be effectively planned so that genetic selection operates in desirable channels. In some manner we must produce those environmental and emotional circumstances which result in more offspring among those that ought to be having them. For this the space of the countryside is necessary, the clutter of the city a disaster. Make it desirable and satisfying for people to reproduce and they will. Let the present erosion continue and we flirt with a state of imbeciles.

Modern sanitation and hygiene have increased the life expectancy of the person; at the same time our practices have knocked into a cocked hat that of the race. That is, you have a much better chance of living today the span of three score years and ten and not passing on before the age of two than was formerly the case. But as far as the race is concerned, a childless person of eighty has made no more contribution than the dead infant.

The rural population, that reproductive segment of our populace, must be saved. Those that are the topsoil must be encouraged to make their homes where children are desirable and not a liability. Consciously, and without any kind of police pressure we can and should do it.

Behind the Headlines

The trend toward a divided Germany, a divided Europe, a divided world, called for by the policy of "containing communism" continues. The logic of history overrules the contrary desires of many who support this policy and some who helped to make it. This division abroad is naturally accompanied by increasing division at home, in religious as well as political and labor forces. The Federal Council appeal to the churches to join up for the "cold war" by using their moral influence to stop the expansion of the police state is far apart from the appeal of the Interchurch Committee headed by Dr. Ralph Sockman to use the approach of faith and good will and make judgments only on the basis of verifiable facts which the Committee offers to supply. A recent discussion of this division in the religious world in this Bulletin raises questions which its readers need to answer.

Where does the dividing line run? The answer is not clear when one speaks first of "progressive forces", then of "liberals", and then of "liberalism" as though they were identical. Liberalism is a philosophy and if it is divided against itself it cannot stand and is not worth discussing. Liberals are a group who may be united if they differ on the program that liberalism requires. But liberals are only a part of the "progressive forces", and not that if they are supporting the policy of reaction. In the broad the line of partition is between the progressive forces and those of reaction. In this moment of history reaction is anti-democracy. Progressives seek the extension of democracy, reactionaries seek to check its advance, and the only way to do that is by turning the clock of history back. Now that all the forces of reaction are uniting in that effort the appeal to oppose them with a "united liberalism" would send forth David against Goliath without even sling or stones.

The line of cleavage in the progressive forces underlying the line of division over foreign policy, is between liberals and radicals. Its clearest expression is over the economic system. Liberals would remove its evils by education and reform. Radicals hold it necessary to change its nature by replacing the struggle for profit with democratic planning for social ends. They believe in regeneration as well as education and reform. By union of these forces they consider it possible to avoid the wars and repression that are bound to come if reaction is not checked in time. Hence liberals who share this desire have everything to gain and nothing to lose by uniting against reaction with radicals on specific issues. On that basis our Federation has operated a religious united front for forty years with not inconsiderable results. Never was the extension of that front so needed as today when united reaction rallies its forces for Armageddon.

It should be observed that the discussion of this issue in terms of "liberalism" is characteristic of a school of theology whose basic concepts are the opposite of those on which Methodism was founded and has extended throughout the earth. So it is not accidental that the positions on foreign policy taken by this school of thought are opposite to those taken so far by our Federation.

What is the main point of division in the religious world concerning relations with the Soviet Union? If there are any among us who regard Soviet behaviour as "the necessary strategy of the nascent Kingdom of God in an evil world" or any under the illusion that "anything which represents a stiffening of attitude toward her is per se evil and

undesirable" I have yet to meet them, in print or in person. Certainly those views were not expressed, and are not held, by either of the three writers who have discussed American-Soviet relations in this Bulletin in the past year or so. Each of them, on the basis of considerable first hand knowledge, has mentioned specific evils and dangers in the Soviet system, along with progress in overcoming them. None of them is under the "illusion that Russia is the spiritual fatherland of economic democracy" but each of them has sufficient knowledge of history to recognize that the establishment of the first socialist state is an epochal event in the development of democracy which began with the overthrow of feudal absolutism in England. Consequently, and also because the principles of economic and social democracy are proclaimed in our gospel, they want the Soviet people to succeed in overcoming the evil that is present in every form of the state. Is that the root of division between those who support and those who oppose the "cold war" against the Soviet Union? Does the inability or refusal of many liberals to recognize that the Soviet Union is a developing democracy derive from not wanting a socialist society to succeed?

Whatever the answer, the article referred to makes democracy the basic point of division; and correctly so, for unless the Soviet Union is a developing socialist democracy there is no basis for collaboration with other developing democracies, no hope for the United Nations, no basis for peace. The question is not whether it is possible to "cover Russia, Great Britain and all the rest of Europe with the blanket term 'socialist democracy'", but whether they are all moving "in their own ways" in the same general direction. The socialists in Europe, including those in Germany, are not dividing on this question. They are dividing on whether or not they want to work with communists, and how; and whether they want to follow the Soviet method of getting to the goal they all want to reach. In his long conversations with the British Labor Party delegation Stalin recognized other ways of reaching socialist society than that the Soviet peoples have travelled. In a recent article Varga, the leading Soviet economist, makes a penetrating analysis of the differing ways and degrees in which the countries of Eastern Europe called by our press "Soviet satellites" and by theirs "new democracies" are making the transition from capitalist to socialist society.

The standard authoritative work in English on Soviet society is that of Sidney and Beatrice Webb who spent a lifetime in social research. Fabian Socialists, believing in a different way of achieving the social revolution than that used in Russia, they were convinced after the new democratic Soviet Constitution of '36 that a socialist democracy was being achieved and the question mark was removed from their title. They knew what Calvinists, old or new, may find it hard to understand, but Methodists should not, that the democratic way of life is a continual "going on to perfection", a continual overcoming of the evil that is present in every form of society. They also knew that the appearance of anti-democratic behaviour does not prove that democratic development is not being sought. The question is what is being done to overcome it. "The evil that I would not, that I do" is a recurrent pattern. The point is does it recur less frequently and in lesser degree?

H. F. W.

Report of the Executive Secretary

We have every reason to be grateful for the splendid three-day membership meeting at Kansas City, for the many enthusiastic commendations of the meeting which have come from the widely representative delegates, for the earnest and democratic quality of the sessions, for the splendid group of Federation leaders there elected and nominated, and for the relevant and positively prophetic program which the delegates at Kansas City formulated and adopted after thorough discussion and in great unity.

If the program formulated at Kansas City is given wide publicity, the Federation will gain needed new friends and supporters. Though there naturally may not be total agreement on every particular point, we can expect from our fellow Methodists of good will and social concern the same positive, appreciative response which Bishop Magee, for example, sent spontaneously after he had studied the resolutions.

The Kansas City meeting was given far more prominent attention in the press (especially by one powerful, reactionary newspaper chain and its "expert" reporter) than anyone expected an organization and meeting of this size to evoke. Actually, this is testimony to the effectiveness and power which, despite our size, this newspaper chain believes it has found in our religiously rooted, and socially alert and concerned, fellowship. Socially concerned Methodists and other Protestants are committed to advancing democracy and brotherhood—fulfilling the democratic and cooperative dream in our Gospel, securing social and economic justice, building international friendship, good will and peace, combatting universal military training and the total atmosphere of hysterical fear in which dangerous anti-democratic and post-war plans are being promulgated. As reflected at Kansas City and elsewhere, socially minded Protestants are increasingly concerned over the President's policy and practice of close collaboration with the Vatican state—in terms of its meaning for the progressive foreign policy imperative for peace and in terms of its impact on the basic American principle of the separation of church and state. These goals—espoused by our organization—are widely shared throughout Protestantism. But our fellowship has perhaps had more "cutting edge," more of a spearhead quality. Any careful student of the Scripps-Howard press chain knows that it strongly advocates Universal Military Training, has a world program completely in harmony with that of the Vatican, directly and potentially contributes to the very propagandas and hysterias which threaten democracy and peace. That the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, therefore, should be hostile to the goals and program of the Methodist Federation, should surprise no one. Certainly there would be real cause for worry if the Scripps-Howard press chain *liked* our program and purposes. The only surprise in this situation is the amount of attention given the Federation by the Scripps-Howard papers—the serious threat which they apparently found in the Federation to the reactionary goals which *they* espouse. Let us only hope that they are correct in their apparent estimate as to the effectiveness of our movement. And let us ever strive to make it so.

The victory would indeed be theirs and that of the Social Reaction for which they stand, if they succeeded in getting us to divert our time and energy from service of the prophetic program to which we are committed by the democratic decisions of our members, by our history as a fellowship, by our nature as described in our Constitution, and by the compelling human needs of our postwar period—to engage in a direct, and wholly negative, fight with them on the ground which they have proposed—namely, the ridiculous smear charges which they have levelled against us, rather than on the ground of the fundamentally different program which they and we espouse.

This is not to say that there has not been value in the

documented factual analysis of press reports of the Kansas City meeting, unanimously adopted by this Executive Committee in its January meeting. On the contrary, there has been great value in this analysis, especially in view of the fact that there are even Methodists who apparently believe whatever they read in the papers, however ridiculous, who do not follow the practice of checking on the veracity of newspaper reports, and are inclined to get somewhat hysterical about some of them. The story in the documented analysis also has value, in that it provides a needed though shocking case study of the utterly immoral, irresponsible, and dangerous nature of powerful segments of our "kept" press. If the document, which took so much of our time, contributes to understanding and concern as to the nature of our press, it will indeed have rendered a great service.

This document was sent to Methodist leaders, including all delegates to the General Conference, as this Committee requested. The response has been impressive, and almost unanimously affirmative. Hundreds of Methodist leaders from every geographical section, including many who are quite conservative, have sent us their names as sponsors of the report. Dr. Lyndon B. Phifer of our Board of Education wrote as soon as he had read the report: "This is one of the most damaging documents I have ever seen. It is an important exposure of the methods of the modern American press. It certainly should be brought to the attention of the proper committee of the General Conference. Has not the Federation in its membership a qualified Attorney at Law who would donate his services in suing, on behalf of the Federation, the New York World Telegram for libel? I do not think that the 'kept' press should be allowed to get away with this rotten, libelous attack on our movement." Professor Walter Gellhorn of the Columbia School of Law wrote when he had read the document: "I have read with the most intense interest the document you sent me. The reporting of your Kansas City conference appears to have been an unmitigated outrage. At times it seems that anyone who believes in a peaceful way of life, in justice, and in the maintenance of a minimum of human decency, is certain to be branded as a subverter of American institutions." Professor Gellhorn went on to indicate that the material should be revised and somehow made more widely available to the American public because of its great educational value. I cite these two only as examples of the wide enthusiastic response which has followed the distribution of the document, and the obvious sense of indignation which has been aroused over the immoral way in which the press mishandled the Kansas City meeting. It would seem that this Committee, should, as requested by many, ask and expect the General Conference in April to call on the press in the future to be fair and objective in its reporting of the doings of Methodists, including those who are dealing with current and vital social issues. We have already announced in the February-March issue of the Bulletin that the document is available to any who write in for it. Perhaps the committee would like to give direction here as to the further distribution and use of this report.

The report has been effectively used by the Michigan and Alabama Christian Advocates, both of which strongly supported the Federation and condemned press misrepresentation. *Zion's Herald* is also planning a helpful, full length article on the Federation. Dr. Walter G. Muelder, a member of the Committee, has written that he has agreed to prepare a 1,500 word article for *Zion's Herald* and (hopefully) for other Methodist papers. "The article will deal with the positive values of the Federation for the Methodist Church. The more I think about the crisis in our Federation, the more I am confirmed in my opinion that we should take an aggressive rather than a defensive line at General Conference. The Methodist Church should be challenged to meet the reactionary forces by a ringing positive support of prophetic

Christianity." Similar response and emphasis have come in numerous other communications from our members, worried lest we dignify the unscrupulous press attacks or divert time and other resources from the positive and aggressive leadership which is needed from the Federation in light of the present social reaction and crisis.

These have been months of severe financial strain for the Federation. But an aggressive promotional campaign has been launched and is to be continued. Already there has been some response, and we can expect more from many of our warm friends in every area. We have been especially pleased by the plan of Bishop Brooks, for example, to address a letter to every pastor in his area on behalf of maximum local church support of the Federation, in the form of memberships and contributions. We now have a happy break-down of staff responsibilities in the National Office, which makes it possible for Miss Jean Brandt to devote full time (with the exception of her office management responsibilities) to this whole field of Federation promotion. We anticipate significant results from this arrangement.

Happily I can report that we have not been prevented during these months from carrying on a positive program. In January we sent out one of our regular action letters on the important question of higher minimum wage legislation. This received a good response. More recently we sent a letter to our Georgia members on behalf of a Negro widowed mother of twelve children who had been condemned to death by electrocution, together with her two young teenage sons for having killed an armed white farmer in self defense. We believe this will help to save the lives of these three people and help secure either their pardons, or a new trial with an inter-racial jury in which legal, rather than "racial", justice can be expected. Again, in this whole field of action, the Administrative Committee adopted a statement on Palestine, in the interest of securing an American policy which puts human rights above oil rights in that area, and which (in face of the threatened outbreak of open warfare and mass murder in Palestine) gives needed support to the United Nations and its proposals with reference to the regime to follow the ending of the British mandate.

Nor has the heavy pressure of post-Kansas City correspondence and office work prevented field engagements on behalf of the Federation—as is indicated by the following field report, presented in summarized form:

I. Recent engagements

- 2/2 Metropolitan Duane Methodist Church, official board, open meeting. Re press accounts of Kansas City meeting. With Miss Stevens.
- 2/3-5 National Conference, Cleveland, as sponsored by Department of Negro Work. Strong unanimous action (over 200 delegates) supporting MFSA, urging membership expansion and local chapter organization in every local church, strongly condemning immoral press accounts, new memberships secured.
- 2/14 Bridgeport, N. Y. District MYF annual meeting. Recommendation by Conference Committee that every local MYF take MFSA membership and memorialize General Conference on behalf of moral support of MFSA, and abolition of all segregation in Methodism.
- 2/16 Ramapo Clergy Assn, Newburg, N. Y., address re MFSA, press accounts, and conscription. Good response and interest.
- 2/27 Interview with Ralph Kesselring immediately prior to his departure for mission work in Malaya and re membership recruiting and chapter organization there.
- 2/29 Hartford, Conn.—chapter MFSA. Address re press coverage of Kansas City meeting. Keen interest, new members, literature sold.

II. Forthcoming engagements

- 3/20 Ohio Conference MFSA chapter, Dayton.

3/21 Ohio University.

4/1 Lexington Conference. Cleveland.

4/5 Erie Conference MFSA.

4/9 New Hampshire Conference.

4/15 (?) Ohio Social Service Commission.

4/19 Northern New York MFSA

Early local engagements; Columbia University Christian Assn., Leonia, N. J., Methodist Church (Young Adults), Amityville, L. I., Methodist Church.

III. All pre-General Conference annual conferences have been written in interest of securing engagements during conference sessions on behalf of MFSA.

RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE, adopted by MFSA Administrative Committee, March 8, 1948:

A heavy responsibility rests upon Christendom to achieve some measure of justice for the persecuted Jewish people, one-third of whose world population have been killed. The 60,000 square miles of land in Palestine allocated for a Jewish national home by the Versailles Peace Conference has finally been reduced to 5,200 square miles, of which 4,000 square miles is desert.

The "Arab League" openly defies the UN on the partition of Palestine; incites terrorists to attack Jewish settlers in Palestine; sends them arms from Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq and Transjordan; threatens the lives of 800,000 Jews in Palestine, and 500,000 other Jews living in Arab lands. 100,000 British troops in Palestine cannot or will not preserve order there against 2,000 Arab terrorists, but allow armed Arab bands to cross the frontiers of Palestine while unarmed Jews who try to come in are sent to concentration camps in Cyprus. The day before the Arab outbreak of assassination, arson and looting, British forces were given orders "not to interfere" and Jewish police were forbidden to use their weapons and armored cars to suppress Arab violence. Armed Arab bands have been permitted to move freely throughout Palestine, to attack isolated settlements, to rob trains and shoot up truck convoys, to lay siege to the Jews in the "old city" of Jerusalem; while Jews bearing arms are arrested if caught and Jewish Resistance forces are fired upon at sight by British troops. 250,000 displaced Jews are still in the camps in Europe waiting to go to Palestine. Our State Department declared an embargo on all arms going to the Jews in Palestine on December 5, 1947, although American agents sell arms to Turkey and Iran, Moslem states that voted against the partition of Palestine, while there is nothing to stop these arms from being passed on to Arab terrorists inside Palestine. Since V-E Day, the United States has given the Arab League \$41,000,000 worth of surplus American supplies. This pseudo-neutrality is shamefully like our embargo on arms to the Spanish republic when it was under attack from Hitler's and Mussolini's fascist divisions, which we now see was a prelude to World War II. There are powerful pressures within our government to put our arrangements for Arabian oil above the human rights of Jewish refugees, and to extend the Truman Doctrine to Palestine and the middle east.

BE IT RESOLVED that the Methodist Federation for Social Action take the following steps, and call upon its members to do likewise:

1. Write Secretary-General Trygve Lie, urging immediate disciplinary action against Arab members of the UN as aggressors in an undeclared war.
2. Write Senator Warren Austin, chief American delegate to the UN, asking the Security Council to establish a non-Palestinian police force to enforce partition in Palestine, in accordance with the report of the UN Commission on Palestine.
3. Write Secretary Marshall, asking him to urge that Great Britain open the port of Tel Aviv, for repatriation at once of displaced Jews in the camps in Europe.

Social Issues in Today's World

The General Welfare

MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED PROMINENT AMERICANS, headed by nearly thirty key religious leaders including three Protestant Bishops, denounced the Twentieth Century-Fox film "The Iron Curtain," as "war propaganda" and demanded "that the release of this film be stopped as a violation of the United Nations declaration against war propaganda and as a grave threat to our security through this incitement to war."

The statement, which was sent to Spyros Skouras, President of Twentieth Century-Fox, pointed out that "fear, suspicion and hatred are the tools with which Hitler and Goebels fanned the flames of World War II. 'The Iron Curtain' can only increase the atmosphere of hysteria leading us down the road to war."

Among those signing the statement were: (the three Bishops, the Right Reverend W. Moulton, Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, Salt Lake City, Utah; the Right Reverend Edward L. Parsons, Retired Bishop Protestant Episcopal Church, San Francisco, California and the Right Reverend John Moore Walker, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Atlanta, Georgia) the Honorable Elmer A. Benson, former Governor of Minnesota; Charles F. Boss, Jr., National Commission on World Peace, the Methodist Church, Chicago; Dr. Frank Aydelotte, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton University, N. J.; the Reverend William E. Lampe, General Secretary, Evangelical and Reformed Church, Philadelphia, Pa.; the Reverend W. F. Jernagin, National Fraternal Council of Negro Churches, Washington; Kenneth Leslie, Editor, "The Protestant;" the Honorable James E. Wolfe, Justice, Supreme Court of Utah; Mrs. Leslie E. Swain, President, Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; Agnes Smedley, writer; Professor Clyde R. Miller, Teachers College Columbia University.

The Reverend William Howard Melish, Chairman of the National Council, indicated the more than one hundred signers were only a partial list and that he expected several hundred additional signers within the next few days.

Race Relations

The Commission on Inter-Faith and Race Relations of the Rock River Conference issued a fine report in 1947, in which it stated:

"It seems to this commission that the influence of the Christian Church should be brought to bear upon contemporary racial problems in order that discriminatory bars should be removed and that Christian brotherhood shall prevail in fact and in deed. Furthermore, it is the conviction of this Commission that this attack upon the racial evils of our day should begin with the Methodist Church itself."

After such a splendid report—accepted by the conference—and printed in the minutes—it is a bit disconcerting to be advised by Federationists in the Rock River Conference that the conference itself practices discrimination against Negroes at the DesPlaines Camp Ground, in violation of the Illinois Civil Rights Law. This discrimination, according to Rock River Conference Federationists, is practiced in connection with the swimming pool.

AT ITS DECEMBER ANNUAL MEETING AT BUCK HILL FALLS the Methodist Womans' Division of Christian Service adopted the following memorial to the General Conference, asking that the Central Jurisdiction be abolished:

"The organization of our church by its present system of jurisdictions and conferences explicitly accepts the principle of racial segregation. The church by the nature of its faith is constrained to become more adequately Christian in its plan of organization. We respectfully memorialize the General Conference of 1948 to take such steps as may

be necessary to abolish this pattern of segregation in the Methodist Church."

The Division also adopted a memorial calling upon the General Conference "to authorize and institute procedures whereby programs of general church emphasis may be promoted across jurisdiction and conference lines."

WHILE OTHER SOUTHERN STATES continue to struggle with the problem of providing graduate education for Negroes, the University of Arkansas cut the Gordian knot by opening its graduate schools to qualified Negro students and forthwith enrolling one in its school of law. A day or two later the University of Delaware, hitherto all white, made a similar announcement. In each case the university's action was voluntary, though not improbably hastened by recent Supreme Court decisions. In 1935 the University of Maryland enrolled a Negro in its law school as the result of a court decree. Another was enrolled there later and both have been graduated.

Meantime other southern states have been seeking means by which to meet the demands of the Supreme Court, while still preserving the pattern of segregation. Several years ago North Carolina began the introduction of graduate work into its state colleges for Negroes, and a half dozen other states are now doing likewise. Texas has gone further by appropriating \$3,500,000 to set up a Negro university at Houston. A number of states are now considering the possibility of developing cooperatively a system of regional graduate schools as an answer to the problem.

In the limelight at the moment is the Oklahoma case, in which the Supreme Court ruled that Mrs. Ada Fisher, a qualified Negro applicant for admission to the law school of the State University, must be accommodated at once, either in the University or in a separate school with comparable facilities. Since the Constitution of Oklahoma forbids the co-education of the races, the State Supreme Court ordered the Board of Regents to set up immediately a law school for Negroes. The regents took hurried steps to that end and in a few days announced that the school was ready. Mrs. Fisher refused to enroll, however, and is prosecuting her application for admission to the University on the ground that the proposed alternative is only a makeshift. To complicate the matter, six other Negro students have since applied for admission to the University for graduate work in five different schools. Next moves in this tangled situation and its ultimate outcome are awaited with interest.

International Relations

GENERAL LUCIUS D. CLAY recently rebuked Pastor Martin Niemoller's Evangelical Church in Hesse for advocating defiance of the denazification program.

"It is distressing to me," said General Clay, "that members of a religious faith advocate disrespect and violation of the law."

The church administration has urged members of the church to resist the denazification program as one which sows "a new seed of hatred". The letter, written by Dr. Niemoller and read in all of the Evangelical churches in Hesse, urged members not to support the program either as complainants or witnesses.

Dr. Niemoller's opposition to de-nazifying Germany reminded TIME magazine of the comment of Karl Barth: "Never forget that Niemoller is a good German—a too-good German."

ALMOST UNNOTICED ABROAD, the new India goes on abolishing barriers which gave privileges to some and opposed the freedom of others. In the South Indian state of Mysore, a bill was passed which made it possible for untouchables to worship in the state's 15,000 temples and

to bathe in sacred wells. Only one member of the legislative assembly voted against the measure.

The old privileges of special trials for British and American nationals has also been abrogated by Mysore, whose Minister of Justice, in supporting the new regulation, said that it was no longer thought expedient to allow discrimination before the law.

Labor Concern

THE HOPE THAT TWO INDEPENDENT STATES will be established in Palestine "based on cooperation of Arab and Jewish workers" was voiced by Arab leaders in a cable received recently by the National Committee for Labor Palestine, 45 East 17th Street. The cable was signed by Mustafa el Abdallah and Bishara el Issa, leaders of the Palestine Labor League, a trade union movement of over 5,000 Arab workers that has cooperated with Histadrut, the General Federation of Jewish Labor, for the past twenty years.

Addressed to American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations unions in Detroit, which recently held a special conference on Palestine, the cable stated:

"Abba Hushi who returned last week brought us further encouragement in your name. On behalf of Pioneers of Cooperation between Arab and Jewish workers organized in Palestine Labor League, we express deepfelt gratitude to Detroit workers for readiness to stand by us in our difficult sacred task. With help of lovers of peace and freedom throughout the world and with fraternal assistance of American workers we hope to be able to establish in our independent states a free workers society based on cooperation of Arab and Jewish workers.

(signed) MUSTAFA EL ABDALLAH
BISHARA EL ISSA."

The Cooperative Movement

FARMERS NEED CREDIT UNIONS more than they know, said Tom Doig, Managing Director of the Credit Union National Association, at a meeting of coop editors and educational directors at Madison, Wis., recently.

"Farmers will tell you that they never pay more than 6%", Doig said. "Take a look at the chattel mortgages in the courthouse some day and see how many farmers are paying 42% on personal loans". He told of looking over the chattel mortgages registers in an Iowa county seat with a Farm Bureau man and finding that 250 out of 280 Farm Bureau members had borrowed at 42% in the preceding 18 months.

The Credit Union National Association was host to the coop people for two days. CUNA president Gorden P. Farr of Detroit Postal Credit Union told the meeting how credit union, coop, and labor are working together to build the Motor City Consumer Cooperative in Detroit.

Federation Activities and Reports

The OREGON CHAPTER held a two-day Social Action Conclave March 4 and 5, in Portland, under the theme "Christianity and the State". Bishop Francis J. McConnell made the keynote address on *The Christian Theory of the State*. Other topics covered in this inclusive conference were: Taft-Hartley Labor Law, President's Loyalty Order, Race Discrimination, Universal Military Training, World International Organization, Consumers Cooperatives, T.V.A. and Our American Way of Life and matters pertaining to the Oregon Legislature. The convention ended with a dinner honoring Bishop McConnell.

The PACIFIC NORTHWEST CHAPTER is circularizing a printed leaflet giving the full text of the Council of Bishops' protest against the un-American and unconstitutional practices of governmental authorities in attempting to rid public offices of so-called "subversives." The leaflet also contains a protest by the Chapter against the joint resolution passed by the Washington State Legislature in March 1947 establishing the *Canwell Committee* to investigate persons and groups operating "Under cover of the protection afforded by the Bill of Rights." The Chapter feels that this is an indirect admission that those to be investigated are acting within their constitutional rights as American citizens. The PNW Chapter puts out a splendid monthly bulletin, called CHRISTIAN ADVANCE.

The SOUTHWEST AREA CHAPTER of the Federation met February 4th in Dallas to hear an "eye-witness" account of the Kansas City meeting from Rev. Andrew S. Turnipseed, delegate from the Alabama Conference Chapter. The meeting was held during the Pastors' School.

A new chapter of the Federation has been organized at IOWA STATE COLLEGE, under the leadership of Neysa McNeley, chairman of the Social Action Committee of the Collegiate Methodist Church in Ames. We expect to hear great things from this enthusiastic group of students.

The ST. PAUL CHAPTER met March 16 for a tray supper in the Y. A discussion was led by Dr. Russell J. Compton on the United States, Russia and the United Nations.

Dust Bowl Helps Feed Europe

(Continued from page 50)

Only the following of soil conservation practices will prevent dust storms when rainfall is short. It is a battle for ground cover and a rough, cloddy surface on land that cannot be in grass or wheat over winter. Much of the land in areas where the rainfall is less than the 17-18 inches required to produce a crop of wheat should be put back into grass and used for livestock range. The federal government bought some 5,000,000 acres of blown out land in the Great Plains in the late 1930s. Less than half of this area has been restored to grass after a decade. Some specialists claim that it will take 25 years to get a sod growing on the land now being plowed up in the low rainfall sections after it is abandoned by the speculative wheat operators.

In much of the Dust Bowl and the arid sections of the Great Plains, it requires two year's rainfall to produce a crop of wheat. After a crop of wheat is harvested by a combine that leaves the straw and tall stubble on the land, new tillage implements are pulled thru the soil like giant slender fingers. These break it into big clods while leaving the stubble and straw on the surface. Any rain that falls sinks in and the stubble-cover prevents the winter and spring winds from blowing the fertile top soil away. When grain sorghum is harvested, the stalks should be cut as high as possible to leave a good cover for the soil until the blowing season has passed. Even bare land can be kept from blowing by going over the field with a listing machine which stirs up ridges of clods that resist the wind. Following summer-fallowing to keep the weeds down and collect all the rain, wheat seeded in the fall spreads a protective green carpet over the land and in good seasons provides winter grazing for livestock.

Pastures and range land can be made more productive by contour furrows and waterspreaders which collect the rainfall on sloping land so that it soaks in and provides moisture for the grass after the rains cease. Grazing has to be adjusted to the growth of the grass so that a good sod is maintained even in times of drouth. We now know how to save our soil resources and we have new machinery to help do the job. The big problem is to keep people from abusing the land and to get them to follow the improved practices of scientific farm management.

Books and Pamphlets

ATOMICS FOR THE MILLIONS by Dr. Maxwell Eidinoff and Hyman Ruchlis. Whittlesey House, N. Y. \$3.50.

Man is an adolescent. He has been on earth for only some 20,000 of the estimated two billion years of the planet's existence, and so is new to the ways of the world. He isn't sure of himself. After a shaky start, the human infant succeeded in getting fire to do his bidding, and now, in his adolescence, if he is able to make the atom work for him he will be doing very well indeed.

But because he is an adolescent, there is some danger that man will start throwing exploding atoms at other men in the name of various political and economic shibboleths and hence eliminate himself from the earth before he has had a chance to use them to destroy his real enemies, like cancer, to drive his ships and trains and planes, and to power his industries.

On the whole, Dr. Eidinoff (Professor of Chemistry at Queens College) and Mr. Ruchlis (teacher in Lafayette High School, Brooklyn) are pretty hopeful. They point out how much cheaper it will be to use uranium instead of coal and gasoline, and how effective radiation may be as a weapon against cancer, leukemia, hyperthyroidism, etc. But in the last chapter they put on the brake and come up with a big qualification: has mankind got sense enough to be trusted with the stuff? And that, so far, is what the late President Roosevelt would have called an "iffy" question.

The late Mark Twain would have had an answer, though. Mark said he had no prejudice whatsoever. He didn't care whether a man was black or white, Jew or gentile, Protestant or Catholic. Was he a member of the human race? That was enough; you couldn't say anything worse about a man than that. But Mark, as everybody knows, was an outrageous pessimist.

Dr. Harold Urey, in an excellent preface to "Atomics For The Millions", says that this is a "semi-popular account" of the long scientific search that finally resulted in the atomic bomb. It is indeed the most easily understood of the three or four books on atomic energy that this reviewer has read, and the drawings that illustrate it add greatly to the clarity of the text. But "semi" is about as popular as this sort of thing can get, for even simplified as it is (and it must appear to be in "The Little Red Hen" class to the professional physicist) it is still fairly rough going for the average Dick Tracy fan. It is a book that calls for study, not merely reading. But those who take the time to really study it will be rewarded with a basic understanding of the subject that it would be difficult to get elsewhere.

Two names not generally mentioned in the newspaper and other "popular" accounts of the development of atomic energy get justice in the Eidinoff-Ruchlis account. They are John Dalton, the English Quaker physicist who made possible the modern hunt for the secret of the atom by putting all the known information about the subject together in his *atomic theory* back in 1808, and Albert Einstein. What an irony it is that two devout pacifists should have done the scientific spade work that prepared the way for the most destructive weapon the world has ever known! It was Einstein who showed that *energy* and *matter* are equivalent with his famous formula: Energy equals mass times velocity of light times velocity of light. It was this formula that bound together the principles of the conservation of matter and the conservation of energy and enabled the atomic scientists to go ahead with transmutation of the elements.

And the authors insist, quite correctly, that the atomic age began not with the dropping of the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima in 1945, but with the successful development of the first atomic energy machine at the University of Chicago in 1942.

Not much of the book is devoted to philosophy, which is quite natural since the authors are scientists and not philosophers. But on the last page of the last chapter they quote from a statement by the Federation of American Scientists:

"The nations can have atomic energy and much more. But they cannot have it in a world where war may come."

Heretofore, when mankind has been faced with a choice between its favorite idiocy, war, and something else, it has always chosen war. Are we mature—or scared—enough now to make a saner choice?

A. J. S.

The Marquis Childs classic in the field of cooperative literature, "Sweden the Middle Way," which has been selling for \$3.00 per copy in the revised edition will be brought out in a pocket edition, and will be available through cooperative associations for 35¢ per copy, the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. announced this week.

A best seller in 1936 and 1937, "Sweden the Middle Way" provided a pattern for much of America's development of cooperatives over the last decade. At the close of the war Marquis Childs was commissioned to go to Sweden, and did a summary chapter on developments during the war-time period. The Pelican edition will be an up-to-date version of the modern classic.

Copies of the book can be secured directly through the regional cooperatives or from the literature department of the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. at 525 West 76 Street, Chicago 20, Ill.

John Calvin is catching the spotlight again. Foes hate him and friends love him—but both agree he is an inescapable genius. He lived amid revolutionary upheavals, so he assumes new interest in our cataclysmic period. In the midst of this renewed interest the American Tract Society of New York, announces the release of its latest book, *John Calvin: Many-Sided Genius*. This new appraisal stands out even in the growing collection of books for and against Calvin. It is written by a remarkable man. Sir Alfred T. Davies is a lawyer who became a great educator. His book, though small, made a considerable stir in conservative Britain. It is bold, comprehensive and amazingly important for our time.

Calvin was intensely human, and yet vastly gifted. Though popularly considered cold, he had a heart of gold. He cannot be neglected by any serious thinker. He should not be underestimated by those who know too little about him!

The Liberal Faces his Critics

(Continued from page 51)

Nor would the average liberal claim for any program the sanction or support of Jesus or the New Testament. Problems of our day require an attitude that accepts large areas rather than smaller personal concerns. Similarly the imminent end of man's free action no longer seems an adequate basis for judgment. But there is a strong compulsion to face social problems in terms of the spirit and mood of the Carpenter of Nazareth. This calls not for hate or condemnation, but for understanding and goodwill. It calls for accurate information and fellowship, rather than the imposition of curtains of iron or newsprint. To the removal of hate and misunderstanding and misinformation the liberal dedicates himself.

There are those who separate themselves from the liberal mood by moving to the left and right. To the left they accept the social program of communism and deny the claims of the Christian concept of personality. To the right they accept the social program of capitalism and deny the objective judgment of historical forces at work in the present day. Both branches vie with each other in condemning the inadequacies of the liberal position they have forsaken. That however, is an old story, causing little surprise.

The liberal temper calls for a sense of maturity. It is the product of experience. It holds little appeal for the followers of one or another of the new schools. It is not a school but an attitude. It has no master thinker to whom one may attach himself, and stop thinking. It exacts a discipline that is severe because it is personal, and difficult for there is no one to mark out the way. In each historical situation, the liberal seeks to develop his objective judgment in the spirit of justice and goodwill, and then let his own life be a part of the consequences. Such a position is easier to ridicule than it is to follow. Happily, those who follow the position know quite a bit about the nature and source of such ridicule, and find a blessing in it.

"Remembering speechlessly, we seek the great forgotten language, the lost lane—end into heaven, a stone, a leaf, an unfound door".

Thomas Wolfe, "Look Homeward Angel".

The Federation Mailbag

Text of letter from Clyde R. Miller, Associate Professor of Education, Columbia University to Dean Carl W. Ackerman, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University calling for action to rescind the recent award of a Pulitzer Prize to Frederick Woltman, New York World Telegram reporter.

January 30, 1948

Dean Carl W. Ackerman
Graduate School of Journalism
Columbia University
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dean Ackerman:

It is my understanding that our university's Graduate School of Journalism shares the responsibility for naming Columbia's Pulitzer Prize winners in journalism.

As a faculty member at Columbia's Teachers College and as a lifelong Methodist, I write to ask you to consider initiating action to rescind the recent award of a Pulitzer Prize to Frederick Woltman, *New York World Telegram* reporter, as being incompatible with the tradition of liberalism and integrity common to the old *New York World* of Joseph Pulitzer and to Columbia University.

Recently, December 27-29, 1947, I attended the annual meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, held at Kansas City. Frederick Woltman reported that meeting for the *World Telegram* and other papers of the Scripps-Howard chain, and presumably for the United Press. I had adequate opportunity to see what actually happened and then to read the Woltman accounts of what happened.

In more than 25 years of experience as a working newspaperman and as a college teacher specializing in the study of public opinion and the analysis of propaganda, I have seldom seen such deliberate distortion of facts and such malicious propaganda as you will find in the Woltman reports of the Federation meeting, in the *World Telegram* headlines over those reports, and in the misleading editorials based on them.

For example, on Page One of the *New York World Telegram* of December 29, 1947, Frederick Woltman's by-line report was carried under this three-column headline:

MINORITY GROUP IN
METHODIST CHURCH
LAUDS RED POLICY

Immediately below this was a one-column sub-head:

Spirit of Yule
Exploited for
Moscow Way

Continued on Page Two, this story was carried under a four-column head, top-page position:

MINORITY SINGS RED HYMNS

The only hymns sung, Dean Ackerman, were from the Hymnal of the Methodist Church. The only policy lauded was the policy of Jesus Christ. The only way the "Spirit of Yule" was "exploited"—if you will pardon the repetition of the Scripps-Howard propaganda phrase—was for Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.

The Woltman stories were as deliberately false as the headlines above them. This you will see for yourself when you study the accompanying report prepared by the Methodist Federation. It contains a factual account of what took place, as compared with the Woltman account.

What makes this a matter of concern to those who honor the liberal tradition of Columbia and of the old *New York World* is the utilization of the names Columbia and Pulitzer by the Scripps-Howard newspapers with intent to make the Woltman falsehoods pass as truth, through the device of association and suggestion.

Note how this was attempted in a Scripps-Howard editorial which received national circulation and appeared in the *New York World Telegram* of December 29, 1947:

Affront to a Church

The great Methodist Church of this country with its 11,000,000 patriotic members, has been subjected to a notable indignity over the week-end. Its enormous prestige has been used by an unofficial adjunct of the church, the so-called Methodist Federation for Social Action, as a national sounding board for Communists and fellow travelers to expound the gospel of the party line.

This has occurred in a Kansas City conference of the federation. Accounts of the meeting have been given to the *World Telegram* by Frederick Woltman, a reporter who has won the Pulitzer Prize for competency in ferreting out the efforts of fellow travelers to operate in the guise of unapproachable American organizations.

We are sure that Methodists, in general, are quite as shocked as we are to read Mr. Woltman's disclosures of what went on at that conference, representing only a small minority of the church. . . .

We can recall no other instance of so flagrant abuse and misuse of the name of a great church. None but insidious, unprincipled leftists would have such unsurpassed gall. . . .

The real "Affront to a Church" comes from Frederick Woltman and his employers. If Methodist and other readers of American newspapers are looking for an example of unsurpassed gall they can find none more revolting than this hypocritical editorial based on the Woltman falsehoods.

This is not the first time the Methodist Federation has been attacked by unscrupulous journalism. In the mid-thirties William Randolph Hearst paused long enough in his campaign against liberal teachers (including several of our colleagues at Columbia University) to, in his words "Drive the Reds Out of the Methodist Church." Fortunately, enough Methodists had sufficient understanding of propaganda to abort the mass deception which the Hearst press had sought to achieve. Important also in discrediting Hearst at that time, doubtless, was his characterization by Columbia's great historian, Charles A. Beard, as a man who had raked every cesspool of vice and crime and filth and exploited it for his personal profit; and Professor Beard went on to say that no honest man would touch Hearst with a ten-foot pole.

Hearst's propaganda campaign in the mid-thirties tied in with that of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco to make "Communist" an evil word, a stimulus to bring automatic rejection of any person or groups so labelled. World War II interrupted that campaign, but today it has been resumed. The Hearst papers have been joined by the Scripps-Howard chain and many other newspapers to create an hysterical fear of anything which they choose to label "Communist".

This propaganda device is not new. It was used by the Romans to make "Christian" an evil word. To be labelled "Christian" was to be thrown to the wild beasts. It was used during the Inquisition when persons labelled "heretic" were tortured to death. Anybody could call his neighbor a "heretic" and bring about his death, regardless of whether the label was deserved or not.

Today's campaign obviously is to condition the American people for war. Will those Christians who today would prevent war by applying the social gospel of Jesus Christ be martyred by unscrupulous journalists falsely applying the "Communist" label? The answer to this question depends in part upon what action our university takes with respect to Pulitzer Prize-Winner Woltman. Columbia University cannot merit a reputation for honest liberalism and at the same time lend the sanction of its Pulitzer award to the malicious propaganda which Frederick Woltman and the Scripps-Howard newspapers are disseminating.

As I understand it, the prize awarded to Frederick Woltman represents not only skill in journalism but adherence to journalism's Canons of decency and integrity. Mr. Woltman has plenty of skill, but he has utilized it to defile those Canons and to bear false witness against outstanding leaders of the Protestant faith. To permit such a person to remain a member of the honored company of Pulitzer Prize winners is to debase the names of Joseph Pulitzer and Columbia University.

To do what I can to correct the perspective of Americans who have been deceived by Frederick Woltman I am arranging to have copies of this letter go to the officers and executive committee of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church, the Methodist Information Service, the Associated Church Press, the Religious News Service, the American Society of Newspaper Editors, the Newspaper Guild, Editor & Publisher, the Associated Press, the United Press, and International News Service. I am sending a copy also to Dr. Frank Fackenthal, Acting President of Columbia University, with the thought that he may wish to bring this serious matter before the faculties and trustees of Columbia University and its various colleges.

With warmest personal regards,
(signed) Clyde R. Miller
Associate Professor
of Education

REPLY TO WOLTMAN

New York, N. Y.

Dear Jack:

Here's my check for \$50.00, balance due May 1, 1948, on my pledge of \$100.00 for the fiscal year, 1947-48.

You are receiving this now because I think all such pledges should be paid up as rapidly as possible—in view of the vast amount of extra work falling upon the Federation staff in attempting to correct the distorted and maliciously false reports of the Federation's Kansas City meeting by Pulitzer Prize winner Frederick Woltman and his employers of the Scripps-Howard newspaper chain.

If anything good can be said to come out of the Scripps-Howard malice which has borne false witness against eminent Protestant leaders it is that an increasing number of decent Americans who have been deceived by such deliberately dishonest reporting are getting their eyes open.

And in so far as honest people become better and better informed of the deliberate violation of the Canons of decency and integrity in journalism they will tend more and more to recognize the need in America and in the world for the practical application of the ethics of Jesus Christ through such organizations as the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Sincerely yours,

Clyde R. Miller
Associate Professor
of Education

Statements on Current Issues Adopted By the Executive Committee, March 15, 1948

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING AND PEACE

In keeping with the consistent stand of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, and also of all vocal official Methodist bodies, we reiterate our unwavering opposition to universal military training as a step inimical to the democracy and peace of our country. The peril to our peace and democracy today lies in the current hysteria, war-talk, militarism, and get-tough-and-by-pass-the-United Nations foreign policy. This is reflected in the increasing pressure for UMT from the Administration and from the militarists who have come to play an increasingly dominant role in the government. America and the world will be far better served if the billions advocated for militarization are devoted instead to repairing and expanding education, clearing slums and meeting housing needs, securing universal medical care and social security, and building the United Nations and its agencies.

The introduction of universal military training is a step towards war—so it cannot be an aid to security. For, in this atomic age, war is in the interest of no nation; and security can be served only on the road to peace. The United States came out of the recent war uninvaded and undevastated—with its productive power not crippled, but greatly expanded. The United States has far more wealth, more physical or geographic security, and more industrial power than any other nation in history. Our government has the major initiative for peace or war. Let our nation declare for peace, insist on peace, build for peace, and devote its great resources to *peace*; hungry-peoples of the entire world will rally as our friends. Thus will be restored the goodwill and moral leadership which we have lost through our contrary post-war policies.

Civil Rights Program

American democracy is on trial in the fate of the civil rights measures recommended by President Truman on the advice of his Civil Rights Commission. We urge the President to continue to work for these measures, and we urge this session of Congress to adopt them. The U.S.A. cannot give moral leadership for world democracy and brotherhood if, at this late date in history, it continues to deny these measures of simple justice, or continues to practice racial discrimination and segregation—a practice contrary to the Gospel of Jesus and to the democratic ideals of our country.

Current Hysteria and the Thomas Un-American Committee

The Methodist Federation for Social Action is alarmed by the hysterias and propagandas which threaten prophetic religion and social progress. We salute with appreciation the eminent scientist, Dr. Edward U. Condon, who has served his nation faithfully but has been defamed by the un-American smear methods of the un-American Committee. We salute also our distinguished Methodist Bishop, and member of this Executive Committee, G. Bromley Oxnam, recently subjected to similar ridiculous smears—initiated by spokesmen for another Faith purportedly based on files of the same un-American Committee. We deplore the increased appropriation granted by Congress to the Thomas un-American Committee, and call for its abolition. At the same time we join with the Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church in asking for an end to all the unAmerican activities of the United States government. To that end, we support not only the resolution of Congressman Sabath for abolition of the un-American Committee, but the more recent bill of Senator Scott Lucas providing guarantees for more democratic procedures on the part of all Congressional committees.

And to our brethren of the Roman Catholic Church, some of whose leaders had a part in the unfair attack on Bishop Oxnam, we give this message: We have no use for religious intolerance or bigotry—nor yet for religious privilege. We seek freedom and equality for all religions, Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or any other. We desire cooperation with our brethren of other Faiths in supporting all those programs on which we agree. But we would neither impose nor accept, as condition for such cooperation, compromise of our conviction or cessation of our action on those issues on which we now are in disagreement. We shall continue to support separation of Church and State, public support for public (but not sectarian) education, an end to our government's practice of diplomatic collaboration with the Vatican Church-State, and an end to all steps towards a deceptively pictured "Holy War."

CONGRESSMAN DRIPP

BY YOMEN



"WE'VE CERTAINLY SHOWN LABOR"